NATIONAL GUARDIAN
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Money Power wins

For shareholders: Record profits
For the people: Be happy on less

A WEEK before the elections Economic Stabilizer Dr. Alan Valentine indicated that the pursuit of happiness is still constitutional. But he urged Americans to reduce "our concept of what we must have to be happy."

In his maiden speeech as a stabilizer he warned the people that they must expect less from their government, pay more in taxes. He saw inflation in higher wages and even in overtime pay; hinted that if labor didn't use "voluntary restraint" in asking for wages, it could be enforced. He asked indignantly: "Must Alaska or Greenland be in enemy hands before many Americans recognize our danger and act accordingly?"

Valentine made no comment on two predictions:

- By the Dept. of Agriculture, that food prices would break all records next year.
- By the New York Stock Exchange in its official bulletin: "It would be logical . . . for stockholders to look ahead to extras and 'Christmas dividends' in the final quarter." The Exchange disclosed that dividends paid so far this year total 21.1% more than those of the first three quarters last year.

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Here are some figures showing how profits to the holders of pieces of paper have risen to yet another all-time high:

FIRM	*1949*	*1950*	*% increase*
Admiral Corp. (3rd quarter)	$ 1,475,884	$ 5,253,685	256%
(9 months)	4,631,574	13,176,417	184%
Am. Rolling Mill (9 months)	22,693,044	37,743,114	66%
(3rd quarter)	6,584,411	12,037,343	83%
Am. Telephone & Telegraph (12 months)	209,257,769	316,223,774	51%
Avco Mfg. (9 months)	2,711,540	7,712,538	185%
Am. Woolen Co. (9 months)	1,608,600	3,190,200	98%
Bendix Home Appliances (9 months)	435,897	2,723,650	525%
Boeing Airplane (9 months)	1,780,185	8,210,252	361%
Caterpillar Tractor (9 months)	13,033,261	25,412,997	95%
(3rd quarter)	4,393,409	9,584,543	118%
Chicago, Burlington & Quincy RR (9 months)	8,144,899	18,342,209	125%
Chrysler Corp. (9 months)	97,651,453	105,246,991	8%
Climax Molybdenum (9 months)	809,728	2,986,504	296%
Consolidated Textile (year)	407,455	1,796,127	345%
Corn Products Refining (9 months)	10,407,383	12,168,796	17%
DuPont (9 months)	135,944,725	218,627,999	61%
(3rd quarter)	49,188,230	96,449,011	96%
General Electric (9 months)	67,612,879	112,919,454	67%
General Foods (6 months, Sept. 30)	13,755,356	15,745,501	15%
General Motors (9 months)	502,414,029	702,655,156	40%
(3rd quarter)	198,735,386	217,377,767	9%
Owens Illinois Glass (12 months)	15,067,584	23,606,333	57%
Pacific Mills (9 months)	2,275,000	6,186,000	172%
Standard Oil N. J. (9 months)	195,000,000	274,000,000	41%
U. S. Steel (9 months)	133,223,409	178,821,540	34%
(3rd quarter)	39,171,144	59,742,302	52%

Roundup of the elections— How the progressives did

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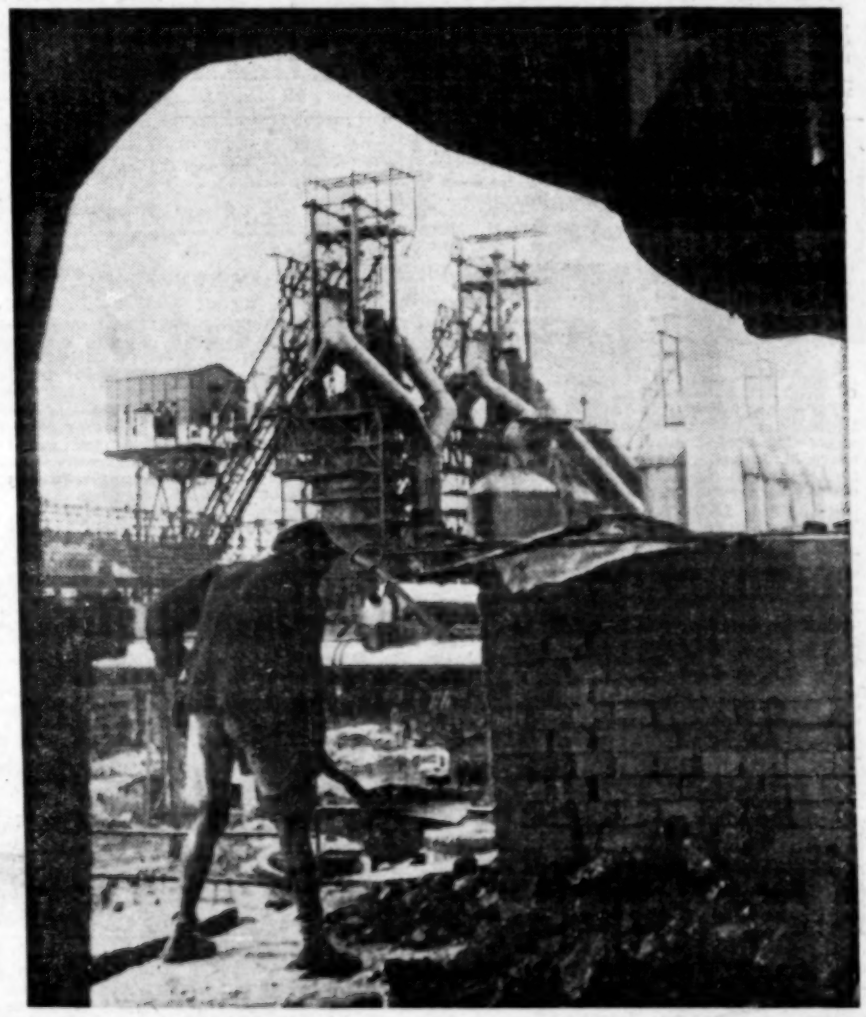

The people own this — and propose to keep it

This is a blast furnace at Anshan, Manchuria, about 75 miles from the Korean border and therefore about 120 miles from the fighting. It is a dramatic reason among others, for Chinese concern over the war in Korea. For details of the international crisis stirred up by MacArthur's advance to the Chinese border, see WAR and PEACE.

The progressive movement, the press and the future

YOU can't throw away an empty pop bottle today without hitting someone with a set of lessons to be drawn from the 1950 elections. And a great many of these lessons are sound and commonsensical.

But from where we at the GUARDIAN sit, there is one lesson which overrides all the others:

THE PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT OF THIS COUNTRY IS NEVER GOING TO GET TO FIRST BASE UNLESS IT CAN GET ITS PROGRAM BEFORE THE PEOPLE. AND THE TRUTH IS THAT THE PROGRESSIVE LEADERSHIP THROUGHOUT THE NATION HAS THUS FAR FAILED TO TAKE THE FIRST, SIMPLE STEP IN THIS DIRECTION.

That step is the building of a publication which will be the voice of the whole movement, which will carry its program and directives to all members at least weekly; and which can be placed in the hands of the general public cheaply and regularly, as our principal means of tearing through the press curtain that blacks out our program in every city and community in the land.

WE of the GUARDIAN propose our paper for the job. We set up the paper for that purpose in mid-1948, staffed it with straight-as-a-string progressive craftsmen and women, opened its columns from the very first issue to the leaders and spokesmen for the progressive movement, to the program of the Progressive Party and all its branches.

On the grass-roots level in every state, a solid core of perhaps 10,000 individuals has done whatever job has been done of circulating the GUARDIAN. It is these people to whom we owe the fact that the GUARDIAN in its two years has reached hundreds of thousands of hands and has grown from scratch to an average circulation in 1950 of over 75,000.

But at no time in these two years has the progressive leadership really turned to and given top organized priority to this basic means of bypassing the hostile press and getting our program out.

NO OTHER PEOPLE'S POLITICAL MOVEMENT THAT WE KNOW OF—WHETHER IT BE DEBS'S, BEVIN'S, LENIN'S OR DR. TOWNSEND'S—HAS SURVIVED ON THE CRUMBS OF PUBLICITY IT COULD GARNER FROM THE COMMERCIAL PRESS. TODAY MORE THAN EVER, NO CAMPAIGN FOR PEACE, FREEDOM AND ABUNDANCE CAN HOPE TO WIN ATTENTION IF IT IS GEARED PUBLICITY-WISE TO THE OBTAINING OF A PARAGRAPH ON PAGE 29 OF THE NEW YORK TIMES. ON THIS THE CAMPAIGNS JUST PAST LEAVE NOT A SHADOW OF DOUBT.

Time spent deploring the fake of our "free" press is time wasted. A tiger, even if he sometimes purrs to pretend he is a house cat, must be expected to act like a tiger. The commercial press will not hearken, plead though we may that it should live up to its own pretensions of objectivity.

We offer these comments as a word to the wise—which we deem you to be. You are the hard core of the American progressive movement. You know best of all the difficulty of reaching the people — the futility of begging for paragraphs in your local Daily Republocrat and Commercial Advertiser.

You know the crying need for a regular, reliable medium of information, utilized by leadership, disseminated as far and wide as our whole progressive movement can reach. You know the GUARDIAN to be such a medium.

WHAT can you do about it? Today as all of us emerge from the election turmoil, analyze the scores and look ahead, we submit that what can be done about the GUARDIAN is part and parcel of the problem of what can be done about the whole progressive program itself.

We submit that it is time to decide that the GUARDIAN shall be built in a thorough, painstaking, ORGANIZED way—as an integral, top-priority part of every progressive organization's program.

WE SUGGEST THAT YOU — PROGRESSIVES WHO KNOW THE FACTS OF LIFE — GO EACH ONE INTO YOUR ORGANIZATION AND FIRMLY RAISE THIS QUESTION. IF IT IS BRUSHED ASIDE, RAISE IT AGAIN—AND AGAIN. POINT OUT WHAT THE GUARDIAN HAS DONE FOR YOUR ORGANIZATION IN THE PAST — AND HOW MUCH MORE IT CAN DO IF WHOLE-HEARTED COOPERATION IS ESTABLISHED.

WE HAVE ONLY JUST BEGUN TO FIGHT. YOUR FIGHT IS OURS. AND OUR FIGHT IS YOURS.

—THE EDITORS

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

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THE MAIL BAG

Proud to be there

CHICAGO, ILL.

Your publishing of "A Bill of Rights" on the front page is so wonderful that I have clipped it out and framed it to hang up in my room, so that any one who comes in, including the FBI, will know just where I stand on "patriotism."

I work on a night shift for a "big" railroad. In going to my work at night I go through that very spot on which occurred the riot of 1886, the Haymarket Square. And as I go (this is now the wholesale grocery market), I take along with me a copy of NATIONAL GUARDIAN folded in half, and fastened by two paper clips, and I "lose it" in the doorway of some wholesale house or among a stack of milk cans that are to be shipped out to the farms for refilling. **Frank E. Peterson**

Sour-smelling name

JERSEYVILLE, ILL.

In your Oct. 11 issue appears a picture of a large, useful power dam, built under the name of Boulder Dam, and still so listed on several fairly recent maps. It is also near a fairly well-known city known as Boulder City.

It will be a source of pain and disappointment to many of us to see this dam described under a name ["Hoover Dam"—Ed.] that brings to our memory a moratorium, a depression, a war waged by beneficiaries of the moratorium, and sons and friends who lost their lives because of the war started in 1941 and not yet finished.

As many of the people in that part of the country said a few years ago: "Boulder Dam it is and to us, Boulder Dam it will always be." **Leslie Knight.**

The peaceful A-bomb

CHICAGO, ILL.

"A-Bombs not loans or votes will bring world peace." This appears in large type in the Chicago Tribune, Oct. 22, at the top of the ad in "Miscellaneous, For Sale" column run by Advance Storage. 5210 S. Wabash Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

Does Advance Storage pay for this, or does the Tribune's Dirty Bertie "donate" space for it? May I suggest that GUARDIAN readers write or phone the Advance Storage and demand an explanation?

One for Peace

Stumble, the man says

WEST MINERAL, KAN.

I note that Mrs. Cronolatus of Ohio says she will support the GUARDIAN and all it stands for—but should you change your policy she will go to New York and punch your nose.

This would be aggression—and of course we don't want any of that, except when we need to in order to protect the big exploiters in their ill-gotten wealth. But should you stumble around and fall farther to the left that would suit me fine. I am ready to go all the way any time. **R. J. Piper**

DuBois Dollars

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

Enclosed I send $2—moved thereto solely by Dr. DuBois' fine exposition of the state of this country since practically the death of Abraham Lincoln.

Mrs. M. B. Bingham

Good gullibility

JANESBORO, ARK.

I like the GUARDIAN very much. No, I am not a Communist. I am just one of those silly gullibles who don't allow the plutocrats to do my thinking. I love men like F.D.R., Emerson, Jefferson, H. G. Wells, Thomas Paine, Mark Twain, Shakespeare. I am no scholar. I am a day worker. But I have some of their great works in my library.

"There is no sure foundation set on blood

"No certain life achieved by others' death." (Shakespeare)

R. D. Wood

Is it nothing to us?

NEW YORK, N. Y.

"Karl Grauch, chairman of the board of I. G. Farben, and Walter Duerrfield, who ran the Auschwitz branch of the firm, who were sentenced to six and eight years respectively, are expected to be released before the end of the year." —N. Y. Times.

In the summer of 1949 I visited that extermination camp in Southern Poland (now a national shrine), in which three to five millions victims—Jew and non-Jew (including 6,000 Catholic priests)—were gassed, shot, worked-to-death or buried alive. The two war criminals who are to be freed must have known completely of its horrors. The nearby I. G. Farben plant was deliberately planned near Auschwitz to make use of 1,000 English prisoners of war and 25,000 of the camp's prisoners. If the starved and overworked prisoners lived over six weeks, an S.S. investigation was ordered. The intent was to have a new labor force every six weeks.

Do we owe nothing to the now-voiceless victims? Will the release of these two aid the democratization of Germany?

I have informed our two senators in New York of my protest. Sen. Lehman reminds me that he joined seven senators, including his colleague, Ives, in introducing a resolution (S. R. 260), which called for a full investigation of allied policy towards Germany. He says "the entire problem of Germany and convicted Nazi criminals has been one of deep concern to me." Sen. Ives terms the release of these Nazis "deplorable incidents."

Resolution 260 is now over six months old and is pigeon-holed into oblivion. **Stanley J. Beyer**

Wanna be an editor?

LIBRARY, PA.

I'd like to comment on your art editor's work. His drawings are clear and to the point and very acceptable. They look simple—but I think a great deal of work goes into each one. **Mrs. J. L. Poritz**

●

ATASCADERO, CALIF.

If you would keep ont the silly illustrations and substitute that space with news it would serve good purpose. **A. M. Reinhold**

He won't

WEATHERFORD, OKLA.

Wonder how the Koreans like their new democracy? "You can fool some of the people some of the time, and all of the people some of the time, but you can't fool all of the people all of the time." But those ruled by prejudice never learn anything anytime.

"God bless America," they say—but how can God bless the bomb throwers?

A thinker in the Oklahoma brush

She keeps calm

BISMARK, N.D.

Don't forget to give us the low-down on the war scare they are trying to whip up in Europe. I heard something about it over the radio; didn't get excited, because I know I'll get the other side of the story in the GUARDIAN.

Jean LaVine

How to feel clean

WOODMERE, N. Y.

Just finished listening to the President at San Francisco. The only way I know to quell impotent range is to send you a renewal of our sub. (which I am not yet sure has expired). In doing that I feel clean once again. **A reader**

3 reasons

WESTPORT, CONN.

Enclosed $2.00 for a year's sub.—because:

1. The GUARDIAN digs up facts no other paper provides.
2. Its spirit is that of the pamphleteers of the days of the American Revolution. You don't pull punches and you make sure of your ground.
3. I enjoy it—a rare experience.

Alice P. Barrows

Now more than ever

THE GUARDIAN IS NEEDED FOR THE FACTS—
GIVE IT TO A FRIEND: $1 FOR 30 WEEKS

Please enter the following subs at ( ) $1 for 30 weeks ( ) $2 full year

( ) Renew my own sub at $2 a year.

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Write for special rates on larger bundles.

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
17 MURRAY STREET
NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

America's fighting heritage

What we need today are more Mr. Dooleys

By Elmer A. Benson
National Chairman, Progressive Party

WHERE should Americans who cannot condone the U.S. action in Korea seek inspiration to stand up and oppose it? Where else but in our own history?

Between this war and our war against the Philippines 50 years ago there is an almost exact parallel. The same hypocritical cant that the victims "started it," after provocation by us of incident after incident; the same by-passing of Congress in declaring the war; the same colonial occupation under pretext of bringing the people liberty—an exploitation which has continued ever since.

Behind the U.S. war on Spain and the seizure of the Philippines was the big "money power" that Lincoln in 1865 warned would grab all wealth and destroy the Republic. President McKinley, who launched the war, was the creation of Mark Hanna, kingmaker of Rockefeller's Standard Oil trust. (Mr. Dooley in Finley Peter Dunne's newspaper column predicted that "Some day th' Ph'lippeens'll be known as th' Standard Isles iv th' Passyfic.")

GOD APPROPRIATED: Asst. Navy Secy. Theodore Roosevelt and Sen. Henry Cabot Lodge, who worked unceasingly to provoke the war, owed their political eminence to J. P. Morgan. The trusts were determined that America's "manifest destiny" was to establish an empire in the Pacific. Sen. Albert J. Beveridge articulated the goal:

> "God has marked the American people as His chosen nation to finally lead in the regeneration of the world. This is the divine mission of America. . . . The Philippines are ours forever. . . . We will not abandon our effort in the Orient. We will not renounce our part in the mission of our race, trustee under God of the civilization of the world."

Mr. Dooley said:

> "I see be the pa-pers that all we've go to do is be r-ready fr to take a punch at Germany or France or Rooshia or anny counthry on th' face iv th' globe."

Money-power rode high owing to the defeat of the last big populist movement, which lost its direction when it allied itself with the Democratic Party—as did the popular democratic forces behind Roosevelt in our day when the Democratic Party allied itself with the money-power controlling the Republican Party.

THEY SPOKE OUT: But Americans 50 years ago refused to accept imperialism without a fight. Some united in the Anti-Imperialist League—led by a former cabinet officer, George S. Boutwell, and embracing ex-Presidents, senators, judges, congressmen, university presidents, clergymen, men as different as Andrew Carnegie and Mark Twain. Labeled traitors by the war-making press, by high government officials, these anti-imperialists were not afraid even in war-time to put responsibility for the war on McKinley's shoulders, to expose horrible atrocities in the Philippines, to equate the Philippine fight for independence with our own.

McKinley's Philippine war, which was to have been a quick campaign, lasted three years. In 1902 Carl Schurz, one-time personal friend of Lincoln and Senator from Missouri, called it "a criminal war of aggression, a bare-faced, cynical war of conquest." He added:

> "But the question of the first shot is not the main one. The main question is who was responsible for the condition of things which made that bloody conflict inevitable. . . . The party in power is largely controlled by strong and grasping interests . . . inclined to make the American flag, in the characteristic phrase of the famous Cecil Rhodes, 'a first class economic asset.'"

"NOT OURS TO JUDGE": Boutwell, answering charges of treason against the League, pointed to the Bill of Rights and declared:

> "We lament the loss of American citizens in war—in an unjust and unnecessary war—but we cannot condemn a liberty-loving people who are imitators of the men who fought for the independence of the U.S. . . . It is not for us to render judgment upon the question of the capacity of other people to govern themselves, and especially it is not for us to seize and enforce jurisdiction over all those who, in our opinion, are incapable of self-government."

Said Judge Parish B. Ladd of San Francisco:

> "Congress, the only war-making power, never declared or authorized this war. It is a war . . . for subjugation and conquest of some nine or more millions of people who . . . have inhabited the Islands from time immemorial. It is their home, their country, situated more than 7,000 miles from the nearest point in the U.S."

And this was a resolution adopted at a N.Y. mass meeting in 1900:

> The imperialist policy of subjugating foreign countries to our sovereign and arbitrary rule is absolutely subversive to the primary principles upon which this Republic is founded. . . . It is the plain duty of Americans to stop the bloody war against the Philippines.

TEND THE FLAME: Today the Democratic Party, once an anti-imperialist party, has proved itself a more effective instrument of money-power than the Republicans. It is doing a more deadly job than the Republicans ever did in oppressing the colonial peoples of the world.

The Progressive Party today is keeping alive the anti-imperialist tradition of Jefferson, the Free Soilers, Lincoln and the Populists. If the Progressive Party does not continue to battle with all its resources against imperialism, there will be none to make this fight and the democratic structure of the U.S. will crumble.

Uncomplicated

RANSOMVILLE, N.C.

It seems to me that too many complicated plans for world peace, while living Americans are dying in Korea TODAY, don't help much. So I propose the following two-point American contribution to world peace:

1. Stop fighting.
2. Come home.

Vernon Wood

POLITICS

How did it happen? Labor leaders, liberals bewildered

"The war has made people nervous and unhappy. They're afraid their boys are going to war, and they took it out on us."

—Cook County (Chicago) Democratic Boss Jacob Arvey

A NERVOUS and unhappy people had handed over the U.S. Congress to the Republicans and the Dixiecrats. Most of the candidates backed by organized labor (Elbert Thomas, Utah; Francis Myers, Pa.; Scott Lucas, Ill.) failed. The men who designed Taft-Hartley and clamped it on the nation with their votes (Robert Taft, Ohio; Eugene Millikin, Colo., etc.) were returned triumphant. The people seemed to have rewarded those who kicked them.

Was the vote a mandate for more and harder kicks? Are Americans kigmies (cartoonist Al Capp's creatures who delight to be kicked)? Key to the riddle of the vote seemed rather to lie with the "liberals" and labor leaders who posed as opponents to reaction while chanting amen to all its fundamental policies: war, witch-hunting, high prices and profits. The people had been faced in most cases with a choice between grim reaction and its echo.

PEACE BLACKED OUT: Nowhere did the liberals of the loyal opposition counter war with peace, reaction with progress. There was a real opposition, based on peace, in the Progressive Party; but almost everywhere its campaign was blacked out, buried and reviled. Most Americans didn't know where to vote for peace. Many thought they found a medium among the isolationists. The **Wall St. Journal** drew this lesson from the vote:

> **Each of these men [prime Republican victors, Sens. Taft, Ohio; Millikin, Colo.; and Dirksen, Ill.] was more or less distasteful to the advocates of an extreme interventionist foreign policy.**

Whatever was in the mind of the electorate, politicians were reading their own mandates. With Marcantonio out, there would be little fight in Congress to repeal Taft-Hartley, enact the Brannan Plan, tax excess profits, defend civil rights or keep the nation out of war.

THE 82D: This is the lineup in the 82d Congress, as compared with the 81st:

	81st	82d
THE SENATE		
Democrats	54	49
Republicans	42	47
THE HOUSE		
Democrats	263	235
Republicans	171	199
Independent	1	(ALP) 1

Political experts broke down the composition of Congress this way: of the 49 Democrats in the Senate, 12 were called Fair Dealers, 25 lukewarm, 12 anti. In the House, 92 Fair Deal, 94 lukewarm, 49 anti.

Across the nation almost 41,000,000 persons voted out of 97,000,000 eligible, 70,000,000 qualified. The Democrats got 18,700,000 of these votes—about **46%**. Outside of the South, they got 44.5%.

HARDLY WORTH IT: A CIO official told a **Wall St. Journal** correspondent:

> **"We're supposed to take our legislative program over to the President's Council of Economic Advisers this week. Now I wonder if it's worth the trouble."**

That summed up the gloom among labor lieutenants of the Democratic high command. They had been highly valued as vote-getters, corralling labor behind the Fair Deal, the Marshall Plan, the war in Korea. On Nov. 7 their stock fell with a bump.

Among their few victories they counted the defeat of Republican Sen. Forrest C. Donnell in Missouri, the re-election of Democratic Sen. Herbert Lehman and Democratic Rep. Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr. in New York. Twenty-five members of the House, listed by CIO and AFL labor leaders as having "almost perfect" voting records, were beaten.

Jack Kroll, chairman of CIO's Political Action Committee, blamed it on

> **. . . a feeling of insecurity and uncertainty on the part of the American people resulting from the complex situation in which we are now engaged as a result of Communist aggression in the Far East and threatened aggression elsewhere in the world.**

BARBED VICTORY: The fruits of the election were first tasted in New York City where James C. Donovan, candidate of the Democratic, Liberal and Republican Parties, who triumphed over Vito Marcantonio, outlined his plans.

Donovan told reporters that he does not think it possible to "break the communists' hold" on his constituents in East Harlem until "the whole apparatus is behind barbed wire." (Voting had again shown the American Labor Party to be by far the strongest party in the district, to be beaten only by a permanent combination of all others.)

Asked whether he would continue the Sunday "open house" sessions in which Marc used to meet his constituents personally and talk over their problems, Donovan said:

> **"I see absolutely no point in a thing of that kind. I will not ignore complaints, of course, but I do not intend to spend weekends listening to them. I'll have secretaries for that."**

THERE were many factors in the vote: peace and war mixed with local scandals, the tugs of personalities. The election could be seen in sharper focus, state by state:

CALIFORNIA

Progressive vote 15% of state's total

THE Independent Progressive Party chalked up the biggest vote California ever gave a third party candidate, save for LaFollette. For the first time California passed New York as a progressive vote center.

With only six (the biggest) of California's 58 counties tallied, George Walsh, San Francisco longshoreman and IPP candidate for secretary of state, had 225,000 votes. His total was expected to reach 300,000. Wallace polled 192,000 in California in 1948. Debs's biggest vote, in 1912, was 79,000. This year GUARDIAN's John T. McManus, ALP candidate for governor, polled 209,000 in New York.

SOLID GAINS: The slate was making similar showings in the vote for Reuben Borough for state treasurer and Mrs. Alia T. Washington for state controller.

In Alameda County, the Rev. G. Linwood Fauntleroy for state senator had over 40,000 votes. In the 14th CD Charlotta Bass had 10,000, roughly 15% of the total vote.

Mrs. Jeanne Cole, wife of screenwriter Lester Cole now in jail for contempt of J. Parnell Thomas, was polling 15% or more. In some races the PP had as high as 18% of votes counted.

Mayor Fletcher A. Bowron of Los Angeles was kept in office, despite the scandals of his administration. The proposition to recall him lost, 404,227 to 255,584.

G. LINWOOD FAUNTLEROY
A strong campaign

ILLINOIS

GOP sweeps state, Boss Arvey quits

THIS was the extent of the Republican sweep. The GOP:

- Sent Everett Dirksen to the Senate with a plurality of 278,931 over Truman's majority leader Scott Lucas.
- Reelected all incumbent Republican congressmen and added four new ones, giving the state delegation 18 Republicans, 8 Democrats. Among those restored to Congress are Richard P. Vail, former member of the House Un-American Activities Committee, and isolationist Fred E. Busbey. Vail once said he "wouldn't know a fascist if I had him by the tail."
- Captured the State House of Representatives, retained the State Senate.
- Elected GOP state officers and trustees of the University of Illinois, among them the old-time football star Harold (Red) Grange.
- Invaded Democratic Cook County to elect John E. Babb sheriff with a plurality of 377,731 over Police Capt. Daniel Gilbert.

BENEATH THE DEBRIS: Democrats had contented themselves with Chicago judgeships and assorted Cook County posts, though even here the Republicans won a majority on the Sanitary District Board, an important patronage dispensary.

While Boss Jake Arvey scrambled from the wreckage and resigned, Sen. Paul Douglas emerged as the state's dominant Democrat. As Illinois' only Democratic senator, he will have almost complete authority over federal patronage and future slate-making.

This is the way some observers explained the Democratic rout:

> **SIDNEY ORDOWER, legislative director of the Illinois Progressive Party: "Lucas killed his chances by trying to outbid Dirksen for the conservative-reactionary vote. He attacked the Brannan Plan, health insurance, and ranted against the Reds just like any other reactionary. People didn't identify Dirksen with U.S. policy in the Far East, but nobody could separate Lucas from those policies."**
>
> **CHICAGO DAILY NEWS: "In the face of the new peril, President Truman and Sen. Lucas continued to picture the Democratic Party as the gurantor of permanent peace. The voters evidently found this posturing both false and infuriating."**
>
> **CHICAGO TRIBUNE (Republican): "The voters expect their government to avoid future Koreas."**
>
> **CHICAGO SUN-TIMES (Democrat): "The party in power almost always slips in off-year elections. The people are worried about war. In Cook County the Democrats tied an anchor on their ticket by running Capt. Gilbert, the gambling cop, for sheriff. . . . Still dissatisfied with the Democrats the voters have given the GOP another opportunity to measure up to the responsibilities of this modern age.'"**

"NOT READY": In the First CD where Progressive Party candidate Sam Parks polled just under 1,000 votes, balloting was unusually light. In the key wards, the 2d, 3d and 20th, only 61% of those registered, voted; the citywide average was 79%. William Miller, state director of the PP, commented:

> **"A great many Negro voters indicated that they see no difference between the major parties but that they are not yet ready to vote for Progressive candidates."**

OHIO

Progressives double vote; 2 Negroes to Legislature

The Cleveland Progressive vote was more than double that of Wallace in 1948. At the latest count Hugh De Lacy, PP-backed candidate for state assemblyman from Greater Cleveland, had 35,388, compared with 17,000 votes the same area gave Wallace. Ohio had no statewide PP candidates.

Two Negro candidates supported by the PP won seats in the state legislature, lily-white since 1948. Both Republican, they were elected from the cities in southern Ohio where jimcrow tradition holds. Frederick Bowers of Dayton ran second in a field of ten. Bruce McClure of Cincinnati, a conservative, has a record of fighting local discrimination. Another PP-backed candidate in Cincinnati, Jerry Maxey, running as a Democrat, was defeated.

HUGH De LACY
A big improvement

HOW TO LOSE: One contribution to the overwhelming victory of Sen. Taft was the CIO policy of keeping the Taft-Hartley issue out of the campaign. A leaflet distributed by CIO Political Action Committee in Elyria failed to mention Taft-Hartley, charged only that Vito Marcantonio, the **Daily Worker** and Taft were against the North Atlantic Pact, military assistance to Europe and aid to South Korea. Taft won by 431,000 votes.

Ohio gave Congress its only independent, Frazier Reams of Toledo, old-time New Dealer and Ohio campaign manager for FDR in 1936. Chief target of his campaign was the reputation for racketeering and strong-arm techniques of UAW official Frank Gosser who, Reams said, controlled his Democratic opponent, CIO official Thomas H. Burke.

WISCONSIN

Fairchild pulls a McCarthy but loses to Wiley anyway

Thomas Fairchild, Democrat, ran for senator against Republican incum-

(Continued on following page)

Continued from preceding page

bent Alexander Wiley. Fairchild invoked the horrors of communism, but he was up against stiff odds: Sen. McCarthy was in Wiley's corner. Wiley won, 584,382 to 504,944. Other races in the state went the same way, from governor down.

The People's Progressive Party placed last. In 1948 it had beaten the Socialist Party statewide and come within 30 votes of the Socialists in their stronghold of Milwaukee. This year Socialist candidates nosed them out everywhere.

Tally in the governor's race for PPP candidate M. Michael Essin is not yet in. This is the score of other PPP candidates:

Linton Jahr, secretary of state..2,947
Bertha Kurki, state treasurer..3,357
Frank C. Stoll, attorney general..1,608

WASHINGTON

Progressives, Independents fare poorly; pension loses

Progressives had two parties in the field — Progressive and Independent. Herbert J. Phillips, expelled as a Communist from the University of Washington faculty, had polled 2,054 votes for senator on the Independent Party ticket with three-quarters of the vote counted. It represented half of 1% of the total vote.

Here is the score on the rest of the slates:

FOR CONGRESS:
Paul Bowen, 1st CD (IP) 896
Verle Hemeke, 2d CD (PP) 431
I. C. Huntamer, 3d CD (PP) 88
Raba Jean Decker, 6th CD (IP) 511

FOR STATE SENATOR:
Alice B. Woodroofe, 7th LD (PP) 129
Fred R. Cary, 42d LD (PP) 164

FOR STATE REPRESENTATIVE:
James A. McDaniel, 33d LD (PP) 129
Earl George, 37th LD (PP) 175
Florence Morissey, 38th LD (PP) 269
Florence B. James, for county clerk, King County (PP) 2,117

(In the 37th Charles M. Stokes (R), unopposed by PP, polled 5,265 votes, became the first Negro to be elected to the legislature in Washington history.)

Initiative 178, backed by Republican Gov. Arthur Langlie, won. It will wipe out the $60-a-month old age pension, put pensioners at the mercy of Director of Social Security Roderic Olzendam. The PP and IP fought it.

FLORIDA

Kennedy arrested at polls; Press fails to carry vote

Stetson Kennedy campaigned as an independent "peace and equality" write-in candidate for the U.S. Senate, color blind and standing for "right supremacy."

Every obstacle southern white supremacists could throw in his way was thrown. Radio stations refused to let him broadcast and the Federal Communications Commission refused to intervene, though its own regulations insist that candidates be given equal access to the air.

The press refused to mention him except in the last few days of the campaign and then consistently mis-spelled his name, a real disaster to a candidate who must depend on accurate write-ins for his vote.

"IF ANY": On election day officials invoked a state ordinance forbidding any voter to carry a written memorandum into the election booth, though many would find it difficult otherwise to cast a write-in vote. Kennedy tested the ruling by entering the booth with one of his campaign leaflets in hand. He was refused the right to vote, arrested and ordered to trial Nov. 22. The offense carries a penalty of $100 fine or 90 days in jail.

Although Negro and progressive groups were pledged to his support the Associated Press announced it had no reports of votes for him, "if any."

Progressives elsewhere

The vote for Progressive Party candidates and issues in many instances was still untabulated at press time. Here are the tallies available:

- **Connecticut:** Mrs. Eslanda Goode Robeson, for congresswoman-at-large: 2,601.
- **Pennsylvania** (Philadelphia only): Lillian Narins for U.S. senator, 2,035; Thomas J. Fitzpatrick for governor, 1,738; Alexander Wright for lieutenant governor, 1,771.
- **South Carolina:** The poll tax was abolished, leaving only six poll tax states: Alabama, Arkansas, Tennessee, Mississippi, Texas and Virginia.
- **Virginia:** Mrs. Phronia A. McNeil got 1,100 votes in the 3d CD, against 15,000 for her Democratic opponent.

The results will be analyzed at a meeting of the National Committee of the Progressive Party Dec. 2-3 in New York.

The German army: Germans don't w

By Tabitha Petran

(Pressure of U.S. election news has prevented us from following week by week the highly significant developments around the question of rearming Germany. Here is a summary of these developments and their repercussions on the cold-war alliance. Ed.)

Western Ge

THE East Germany Army "is about 90% myth. . . . The (Eastern) People's Police are receiving no military training."

This recent statement in **U.S. News** indicates how valid is the excuse advanced by the U.S. that West Germany must be rearmed as a counter to alleged Soviet arming of police in their zone. In fact, West German rearmament in contravention of the Potsdam agreement has been implicit in U.S. cold-war policy from the beginning.

Today this question is splitting the anti-Soviet coalition in several directions. A stormy three-day session of 12 Atlantic Pact nations in Washington last month ended without agreement on it. N.Y. **Times** Paris correspondent Harold Callender reported Nov. 4:

> The French aversion to arming the Germans appears to be matched only by the German aversion to being rearmed—to judge by the views of U.S. officials in Germany who are reported to lament the absence of a military spirit there and to emphasize the need to instill or revive it.

PROPOSAL FROM PRAGUE: Meeting in Prague last month, the Soviet bloc nations drew up a program for Germany which (said the **Times**) "dealt a shrewd blow" to the western coalition. It called for a four-power guarantee against German rearmament and for German unity; for East and West Germany to be equally represented in a representative body to cooperate in making a peace treaty, and for free development of German economy. When the Soviets talk this way, wrote **Times** correspondent Drew Middleton, "they have million of unwitting allies."

The **Wall St. Journal** urged the U.S. to consider the proposal. The cardinal rule of diplomacy, it said,

> . . . is that—unless one wants war—no chance for a peaceful settlement of differences should escape examination and the closest investigation. . . . All of Europe shrinks from the thoughts of war; so much so that there is doubt of its fighting ability. Any hope of peaceful settlement must have a great attraction and to reject a proposal which would seem to Europeans to contain such a hope . . . might very well help turn the sympathies of Europeans away from America and towards Russia.

When Secy. Acheson brusquely rejected the proposal as propaganda, the **Journal** commented:

> What is wanted is . . . a new and workable approach to Germany and the East-West conflict. Mr. Acheson obviously does not have that, and he is not likely to get it simply by exhorting the Soviets to confess their sins and repent.

FRENCH PLAN: A formal Soviet request for a Big Four Foreign Ministers' meeting to discuss German demilitarization made the U.S. position even more untenable. The **Times'** Callender reported from Paris:

> The French Government has too often urged such a conference to reject it flatly now, and Moscow's latest move was thought likely to arouse too many hopes among those who are weary of the cold war and fear an armament race.

The majority in the French National Assembly had, he wrote, applauded Premier Pleven's recent appeal for a renewal of "direct contacts" with Russia, and Pleven had made another appeal for four-power talks in a sp
Herald Tribune reported t
man also urged such ta
in Rome.

The French, under
months to agree to the
divisions on U.S. terms, h
for German rearmament.
of the Schuman Plan for
German steel industries
tary participation to sma
command. This plan wa
meeting in Washington.
from Washington Oct. 29

> . . . are looking beyond eu
> One suggestion today was t
> ernment would not permit
> many . . . possibly another

FRENCH PEOPLE BALK:
with talk of the need fo
ship," coincided with c
from Paris telling of the
re-emergence of de Gaull
date for "strong man" o
All France except de
opposed to German re
and there is some fear
U.S. will try to boost de
power—risking civil war i
Anne O'Hare McCormick
the N.Y. **Times** Oct. 30:

> The French do not reall
> Russian attack in Europe i
> or even near. Hence they a
> suaded, as Americans are,
> war is to build up enough
> Russians from moving.

But recent Paris rep
government might be w
twisting. A further attemp
U.S. differences will be m
ing the end of this month
—already riled over rap
from its own arms progr
tion—is still a factor t
Western powers are still
Soviet note.

WAR & PEACE

British shocked, scared by U.S. World War provocations

ON Armistice Day (Nov. 11) the weekly **New Statesman and Nation**, spokesman for British Labour's mind and conscience, was in no mood for an armistice with Gen. Douglas MacArthur. In a lead editorial ("MacArthur rides Again") capping a series of bitter attacks since Korea, it said the general "seems intent on turning the Korean war into a world war." It disclosed that "confidential instructions, suggested by the British and fully approved by the State Dept," had been urging him

> . . . to halt his advance at the isthmus and so avoid contact with the Chinese forces which would be bound to cross the Yalu River in order to screen the Manchurian border and protect the valuable hydro-electric works.

Recalling that MacArthur had violated UN orders to hold South Korean Premier Syngman Rhee's power below the 38th Parallel, the **New Statesman** called his decision to occupy provinces bordering on Russia and China "pure provocation"—since "on his own jubilant admission there were no further North Korean units to destroy." MacArthur's report to the UN on Chinese intervention in Korea was "double-talk:" he is determined "to restore Syngman Rhee and Chiang Kai-shek to power even at the cost of involving his country in war with China." Britain, the paper said, must insist on China's admission to the UN and that "if British troops are to remain in Korea, the Supreme Commander must be a man in whom the British people have confidence."

TOO LATE FOR REASON? The entire British press was alarmed at the China crisis. London's **Times** urged the U.S. to "go slow," called for "an eleventh hour attempt at reason" since "it is not Korea alone but world peace that is at stake." The conservative weekly **Spectator**, voicing worry about U.S. tactics, criticized the conduct of the U.S. delegation in the Security Council.

Vie Nuove, Rome

ACHESON: "How dare you say the Chinese Nationalist delegate represents nobody? Do you call the U. S. nobody?"

In Tokyo MacArthur's headquarters denounced the **New Statesman** charges as "complete fabrication" and "Communist propaganda." But earlier UP reported from London that Britain had urged the U.S. to let China occupy a buffer strip 30 miles deep along the frontier. Drew Pearson said the State Dept. had long warned MacArthur to stop 40 miles short of the border, and that at Wake Island he had agreed. Then he sought permission to send South Korean troops to the border, then to send U.S. troops to rescue them —each time receiving the Joint Chiefs of Staff's reluctant consent. Former Tokyo correspondent Hugh Deane wrote in the N.Y. **Compass** that MacArthur has once again

> . . . changed U.S. policy, and once again presented the statesmen of the West with a fait accompli. . . . He disregarded the judgments of Washington and London, infringed upon China's national interests . . . and invited Chinese military action. If MacArthur took a calculated risk, the bulk of the armed forces of the U.S. are being led by a soldier-politician whose political anaylsis of Asia has been revealed to be dangerously in error. If MacArthur expected the Chinese to intervene, U.S. armed forces were deliberately led into what could turn into a major war.

"TELL THE KREMLIN": On the heels of the Security Council's invitation to China to participate in discussion of the MacArthur report, MacArthur's headquarters told the press that half a million Chinese were massing above the border and Chinese elements were still coming across. The U.S. press gave the story scare headlines (Scripps-Howard's N.Y. **World Telegram**, Nov. 9: UN DAWDLES AS YANKS DIE) The heat was put on again in Tokyo. Homer Bigart reported to the N.Y. **Herald Tribune** that sources close to MacArthur say he is convinced "a showdown with the Peking regime is inevitable." As if an oracle had spoken, the Scripps-Howard press spread across page one in huge type the "analysis" of its commentator William Philip Simms:

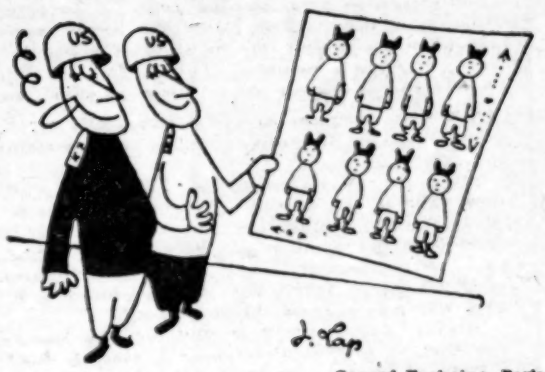
> LET'S —QUIT KIDDING OURSELVES! CHINA IS NOT OUR ENEMY . . . RUSSIA IS THE INSTIGATOR OF THE WORLD-WIDE PLOT AGAINST AMERICA. WE SHOULD TELL THE KREMLIN BLUNTLY THAT IF SHE FORCES US INTO A MAJOR CONFLICT WE WILL CARRY THE FIGHT DIRECTLY TO HER.

The embarrassed U.S. delegation to the UN tried to pacify the war press and the flushed-with-victory Republicans. In an unprecedented move the chief U.S. press officer issued in his own name a statement that the U.S., Britain, and France (the latter two names typed in as an afterthought) requested the Security Council to place Korea on the agenda of its Friday meeting. The Council, which had been scheduled to discuss Palestine, instead debated a six-power resolution calling for withdrawal of Chinese troops and designed to give China assurances that

want it, French don't, but U.S. does

Deutschlands Stimme, Berlin

Germany today



Canard Enchaine, Paris

"Here are some French war goods"

speech at Lyons. The N.Y. **d that Foreign Minister Schu-talks at a press conference**

intense U.S. pressure for he creation of ten German , had evolved their own plan nt. It required prior adoption for unification of French and s and limiting German mili-mall units under a European was rejected at the 12-power n. The N.Y. Times reported 29 that Britain and the U.S. current talks for a solution. . . . s that if the present French Gov-mit a restricted rearming of Ger-ier French Government might.

K: This open threat, coupled for "tough American leader-

De GAULLE

dispatches the political aulle, candi-' of France. e Gaulle is rearmament ar that the de Gaulle to r in France. ck wrote in C: ally believe a e is imminent y are not per-re, that the only way to stave off gh military strength to deter the

eports suggested the French weakening under U.S. arm-mpt to straighten out French-made at a three-power meet-nth. But French public opinion apidly rising prices resulting ogram and the Korean situa-to be reckoned with. The ill stalling on replying to the

GERMANS TOO: In Germany the only advocates of rearmament are some Hitler generals and the Catholic leadership in Bonn which is trying to establish a Mussolini-type corporate state. Financial supporter of West Germany's remilitarization group the Bruderschaft, headed by Gen. Von Manteuffel, is the Catholic banker Robert Pferdmenges, Chancellor Adenauer's chief economic adviser and financial backer. Hitler's tank general Heinz Guderian, who recently boasted he is the author of the U.S. unified command, has been working for resurrection of the German Army in a Benedictine monastery near Munich.

The Protestants, fearing the Vatican's growing power in Germany and unification of the country under Catholic terms, are against rearmament. Adenauer recently forced out his Interior Minister Dr. Gustave Heinemann, president of the General Synod of the Evangelical Church, who has maintained contacts in the overwhelmingly Protestant East Zone and has strongly opposed rearmament—as has Pastor Niemoeller, his close friend. The Fraternal Council of the Evangelical Church at Darmstadt, Sept. 29, declared:

> We cannot approve of the remilitarization of Germany, either of the West or of the East; and this undoubtedly expresses the conviction and will of the overwhelming majority of the whole German people.

"WE'VE HAD IT": In the **Freie Presse** of Bielefeld veteran Socalist leader Karl Severing warned of the "disastrous consequences of setting up another Reichswehr." The Socialist **Aachener Nachrichten**—first newspaper set up in Germany under U.S. supervision—said: "We have already had our crusade against the East and have also passed through the anti-Bolshevik front." Shepard Stone, U.S. Civil Affairs chief, confessed that "the anti-militarist sentiments of many Germans" made a profound impression on him. Adenauer was forced to dismiss his military adviser Von Schwerin as a gesture to public opinion. Said the **N.Y. Herald Tribune:**

> Bonn officials ranging from Socialists to extreme right-wingers agree that any move to create armed contingents would provoke sharp and possibly violent German opposition.

its economic interests in the hydro-electric projects would be safeguarded. No attempt was made to vote on the resolution: it was a political charade for U.S. domestic consumption since Chinese delegates had been invited and nothing would be done before they came.

MISSION FROM PEKING: Next day China's Premier and Foreign Minister Chou En-lai notified the UN that China could not accept the Security Council invitation because it

> . . . deprives the [Chinese] representative of the right to discuss in the Security Council . . . the question of armed intervention in Korea and aggression against China by the U.S. government, and limits . . . [his] right to the discussion of the special report of the so-called UN command, which was engendered illegally by the Security Council under manipulation of the U.S. during the absence of two permanent members.

In a separate communication Chou named the delegation (expected from Peking this week) appointed to attend the Council discussion on China's charges of U.S. aggression against Formosa. It will be headed by Gen. Wu Hsieuchuan, director of the Russian division of the Foreign Ministry, former staff officer of Gen. Lin Piao who commands China's 40-division Fourth Field Army now in Manchuria. Wu's adviser will be Chiao Kuan-hua—like Wu, a man in his early 40's—poet, writer on international affairs and close Foreign Ministry colleague of Chou En-lai. Chiao's sister-in-law Kung Pusheng, former YWCA worker (now a top Foreign Ministry official) who used to live in a walk up apartment on New York's First Ave., is also a member of the delegation.

PAINFULLY NORMAL: China's rejection of the UN invitation to discuss MacArthur's Korean report highlighted the mess into which the U.S. has got itself in the Far East, by what the **Wall St. Journal** called its "gamble" in Korea and by ignoring China's warning. The **Wall St. Journal** not unreasonably pointed out that "a nation's normal reaction to the spectacle of foreign forces converging on its borders is to do something."

From Tokyo, the **Herald Tribune's** Homer Bigart reported

> . . . the deepening suspicion that the U.S. holds a very bad poker hand in this part of the world, with not even a pair of deuces showing.

PEACE

Attlee wrecks congress, delegates shift over to Warsaw

BRITISH Prime Minister Attlee last week put his tight little isle behind a tight curtain. Of some 2,500 delegates elected in 80 countries to attend the Second World Peace Congress in Sheffield, only about one-sixth were allowed to enter the country. Opponents of war ranging from Dmitri Shostakovich and the head of the Russian Othodox Church to French and Italian Socialists were barred as dangerous to His Majesty's security. Seven of 14 Israelis, seven of 13 Cubans, seven of 25 Finns and all the Mexican delegates were refused entry. On the eve of the Congress, scheduled to open Monday, it was clear that the British government, despite earlier assurances to the contrary, had made the international gathering impossible in Britain.

The Polish government came to the rescue; it invited the Congress to Warsaw, agreed to pay travel and hotel costs of all delegates. Those who had managed to get through Attlee's curtain held an informal meeting in Sheffield on Monday; the Congress was to open officially in Warsaw on Thursday.

Building workers of Warsaw signing production pledges in honor of the peace congress held there last Sept.

UP THE GARDEN: Until the eve of the Congress, it was hard for most to believe that the British government actually intended to ban it. Hon. Ivor Montagu, British peer's son who is chairman of the organizing committee of the Congress said:

> "It will be a very strange way for the British government to behave, after giving us reputed assurances that it has no power in law to stop this Congress, to make the Congress impossible by refusing visas. We cannot imagine that it is their intention to exclude every one by a technical trick and thus lead every one in the world up the garden."

While the Prime Minister was driving peace from his land, the announcement came that British Prof. Cecil Frank Powell, a vice-president of the British sponsoring committee for the Congress, was awarded the 1950 Nobel Prize for physics. At Bristol, where he teaches at Bristol University, he urged a world ban on the manufacture of atom bombs.

THROUGH THE FOG: Fourteen prominent Americans, including two bishops, had vainly sent Attlee this cable in behalf of the American Sponsoring Committee for Representation at the World Peace Congress:

> We act in the firm belief that your government will do what it can to encourage a free and thorough discussion of the problems of peace. . . . Britain is the mother of our liberties in the Western world and no more appropriate place could have been chosen for this vitally important democratic effort. News has come that you have been invited to address the Congress and we hope you will accept the invitation, permitting no cynicism or "respect of persons" to make you hesitate.

The Chinese were less polite. Kuo Mo-jo, best-known writer of the New China and chairman of its World Peace Congress Committee, issued this blistering statement:

> Britain has not only become the accomplice of American imperialism in the General Assembly of the UN and the aggressive war in Korea, but has gone a step further to be the yes-man of American imperialism in antagonizing peace and the peace-loving people of the world. . . . On behalf of the people of my country, I lodge a solemn protest with the British government which, while exposing its detested facade, can never obstruct the powerful peace movement of the world. The fog of London cannot shut out the sunny sky."

The State Dept. denied passports to Paul Robeson (Sr. and Jr.), Howard Fast and Rockwell Kent. Fast thus denounced the ruling that his attendance would be "contrary to the best interests of the United States":

> I challenge this as a despicable fraud. My going abrbad might be contrary to the best interests of DuPont or any one of the other dealers in death; it might be contrary to the best interests of the Truman-Acheson foreign policy; but it would not be contrary to the best interests of my country. There is no higher loyalty to the United States of America today than to speak for peace, fight for peace, work for peace—anywhere, in any corner of the earth. For in peace lies the salvation of America; in war there is only death, ruin and suffering.

Soul's consent

DURING the Hitler-Franco war against the Spanish Republic Clement Attlee visited the Madrid front, and to two Spanish Socialist deputies promised that the British working class and Labour Party would never betray the Spansih people. Attlee gave his name to the British brigade which fought for the Republic in Spain with volunteers of all nations.

In the UN this month the British representative, declaring that "nothing has changed in Spain since 1946," abstained on the vote to repeal the UN's ban on Spain—knowing that abstention was a vote for Franco. The Czechoslovak delegate quoted against him the lines from **Richard II:**

> **"If I turn mine eyes upon myself, I find myself a traitor with the rest, for I have given my soul's consent."**

Neither of the two Socialists to whom Attlee gave his pledge so many years ago "can ask Mr. Attlee or the British delegation to explain their apostasy" (writes Spanish Republican Foreign Minister Alvarez del Vayo in **The Nation**); "for both have been shot by Franco."

Militant unions set joint confab

THERE were signs, long awaited, long overdue, of unity on the left in labor.

A call went out last week summoning militant, progressive labor to a national conference in Turner's Arena, Washington, D.C., Nov. 28. It was timed in the wake of the elections which revealed right-wing labor leadership near bankruptcy, and just before the opening of a fateful Congress.

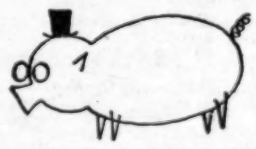
"The full burden of the war economy is being placed on the backs of the workers," said the call to the conference. The meeting is designed to rally labor against a wage freeze, for price and rent control; for repeal of Taft-Hartley, the McCarran Act, the Magnusson Act (regimenting all maritime labor under control of the Coast Guard.) The call came from:

> Harry Bridges, pres., Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union; Maurice Travis, secy-treas., Intl. Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers; Ben Gold, pres., Intl. Fur & Leather Workers Union; Hugh Bryson, pres., Natl. Union of Marine Cooks & Stewards; Arthur Osman, pres., Distributive, Processing & Office Workers; Joseph Selly, pres., American Communications Assn.; Ernest De Maio, pres., Dist. 11, United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers; Grant Oakes, secy-treas., Dist 11, UE (formerly Farm Equipment Workers); James McLeish, pres., Dist. 4, UE; Abram Flaxer, pres., United Public Workers.

Inside Puerto Rico: The bitter story of the 'sugar island'

BEHIND the explosion in the U.S.'s Caribbean "sugar island," where 2,500,000 people live in an area half the size of New Jersey, is a typical story of colonialism. Nearly every other Puerto Rican depends on sugar for his living. Four U.S. sugar companies control the island's economic life. The extent of that control was highlighted during the war when Puerto Rico was suffering acute hunger because of the German blockade and pouring blackstrap molasses into the ocean. The sugar companies nevertheless would not permit land to be shifted from sugar (which occupies 30% of the arable land and the best land) to food production.

The most important company is the **South Porto Rico Sugar Co.** Dominant interest in it is held by the Morgans through Horace Havemeyer, son of Henry O. Havemeyer, founder of the sugar trust, and director of Morgan's Great Western Sugar (biggest U.S. beet sugar company); Hendon Chubb, one of the big Morgan insurance men; and A S. Cobb, vice-pres. of Morgan's Bankers Trust. The Rockefellers hold the second major interest. Their Corn Products Refining Co. uses Puerto Rican sugar for the molasses which forms the base of their corn syrup. The president of Corn Products



is a director of South Porto Rico Sugar. Another directorship is held by Commercial Solvents Corp. (Rockefeller-Havemeyer) whose principal business is alcohol. (Most sugar companies have an alcohol business on the side.)

SUGAR BANKS: The Morgans also have an interest in **Eastern Sugar Associates of P.R.**, whose home office is in Baltimore. Morgan's Natl. City Bank holds one directorship and two

The Mudhole

El Fungito, one of the most squalid slums in the world, where about 40,000 Puerto Ricans live on government land which is periodically inundated. The tires are stepping stones across the mud.

Maryland banks, satellites of Natl. City, hold two others. Natl. City, like Rockefeller's Chase Natl. Bank, is a big factor in the U.S. sugar business. In the 1920 panic it got stuck with so many sugar mills it didn't know what to do, took years to reorganize them. Eventually it brought in the late Gordon Rentschler, biggest U.S. sugar machinery manufacturer, to take care of its sugar business. Rentschler headed the bank for many years. Natl. City also has an interest in **Fajardo Sugar of P.R.** It is a principal factor in Puerto Rican banking.

The fourth sugar company is **Central Aguirre Associates,** dominated by a Boston group with Morgan holding a minor interest. The Boston group—controlling among others United Fruit, Revere Sugar, United Shoe Machinery, Pacific Mills, American Woolen, Calumet & Hecla Copper—operates fairly closely with the Morgans, and in recent years to some extent with the Mellons. Morgan representatives in Central Aguirre are Charles Francis Adams, father-in-law of J. P. Morgan's son, Henry S. Morgan, and director of Morgan's General Electric and A. T. & T.; and Ellsworth Bunker, president and director of Morgan's Natl. Sugar Refining Co.

U.S. HOLDS REINS: Puerto Rico's absentee sugar owners take out of the island each year one-third of its national income. Sugar workers get 37c an hour, average $400-$500 a year, since they work only half a year. Sugar makes up more than 60% of the island's exports, provides 10 to 15% of U.S. consumption. Production is limited by Congressional quota to 910,000 tons. Of this, only 15% can be refined in Puerto Rico. The other 85%, as Congressman Vito Marcantonio told Congress recently, "is refined in the U.S. at a loss to Puerto Rico of over $30,000,000." He explained:

"We have excluded Puerto Ricans from world markets. They buy 90% of their imports in the U.S. In 1948 Puerto Rico bought $337,000,000 in goods from the U.S. and sold us $199,000,000 worth of goods. The balance of trade thus favors us by $138,000,000.

"The shipping companies which hold a monopoly in Puerto Rico have made huge profits. This can be said also of the banks, of the insurance companies, of Wall St. financial groups.

"Under our rule the people of Puerto Rico have seen the destruction of their coffee trade. Coffee was one of the most important cash products in 1898 when Puerto Rico had a market for it in 17 nations. Today Puerto Rico not only is not a coffee-exporting country, but it imports coffee from the U.S. which the U.S. buys in Brazil.

"We afford no real protection to Puerto Rican tobacco. We fix the price of the articles we sell the Puerto Ricans and of the articles they sell us. In short, we have a stranglehold upon the Puerto Rican economy and have reduced that country to a state of misery and poverty."

PORTRAIT OF A COLONY: This is the Puerto Rico of the Morgans, Havemeyers, Rockefellers, and the Boston group:

- Out of a total working force of 700,000, over 300,000 employed only half a year and only part time; current unemployment 300,000 plus.
- Per capita income: $306 a year. Coffee workers earn 13c an hour; tobacco workers, 12c; manufacturing workers, 43c. 68 families get more than $10,000 a year.
- Food prices 27% higher than in the U.S. "The vast majority" suffer "chronic nutritional deficiency" (U.S. Report to UN Trusteeship Council, 1948).
- 76% of rural and 54% of city dwellers sleep with 3 or more persons to a room; 94% rural and 72% city without a mattress of any kind.
- 540,000 are illiterate. 309,000 children, half the total, can't attend school. Only 5% of children reach 12th grade.
- One doctor for every 2,550 persons (1 for 200 in N.Y.). Death rates for diarrhea and enteritis, 304 per 100,000 (U.S., 10); T.B., 215 (U.S., 41); pneumonia, 123 (U.S., 49). But cancer (disease of older age), 52 (U.S., 124).

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FREEDOMS

Parley seeks bail for "Trenton Six"

FOR two years and nine months six young Americans of Trenton, N.J., have been in jail for a murder they did not commit. They are Negroes with aroused public opinion as their only ally. For 16 months they have been awaiting a new trial since the State Supreme Court reversed their convictions in July, 1949. Most of the delay was caused by a ruling of trial judge Charles Hutchinson that O. John Rogge, William L. Patterson and Emanuel H. Bloch, being out-of-state lawyers, could not represent the defendants.

Last week Rogge asked and got from Superior Court Judge Smalley permission to withdraw from the case. The other two lawyers will argue for their reinstatement on Nov. 27. A week before that, the Committee to Free the Trenton Six (a part of the Civil Rights Congress of New Jersey) will hold a conference in Newark to demand the defendants' release on bail pending a new trial.

MARTINSVILLE REPRIEVE: The deadline was close. On Nov. 17 and 20 seven Negroes in Virginia, known as the Martinsville Seven, were to die in the electric chair on a charge of rape that had all the familiar earmarks of a frame-up. In 22 states around the country aroused citizens were preparing to converge on Richmond Nov. 15 to plead with Gov. Battle for pardons. On Saturday the Governor acted; he granted the men a 60-day reprieve, giving time to attorneys of the Natl. Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People to appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court for writs of habeas corpus.

William L. Patterson, executive secretary of the Civil Rights Congress which had planned the nationwide delegation, said the people's response to CRC's call was "a vital factor in influencing the action of the Governor." He announced that the fight for full pardons will go on.

These new holes were shot in U.S. freedoms last week:

- On the West Coast public employes were battling a new loyalty oath law; seven at the San Francisco State College were fired for refusing to sign.
- In Maryland the Ober anti-subversive law, which makes mere membership in a proscribed organization a crime, was supported by a heavy percentage of the electorate. The constitutionality of the law is still to be fought out in the courts.
- In Michigan an "anti-subversion" amendment to the State Constitution was enacted; a court test of it is planned.
- In Washington the Supreme Court refused to review the contempt-of-Congress conviction of Rev. Richard Morford, exec. director of the Natl. Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

Health in China

The China Welfare Appeal will hold a conference on Health and Welfare in China, Nov. 18, 1-5 p.m., at the Barbizon-Plaza Hotel in N.Y. City. Madame Sun Yat-sen will be heard by transcription. Dr. Derk Bodde, author of **Peking Diary,** who remained in Peking during the first year of the new regime, will discuss child care. The conference will explore ways in which Americans can assist the Chinese in rebuilding their country in peace.

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With Mme. Sun Yat-Sen reporting from China by transcription. And Dr. Randolph Sailer, Dr. Leo Eloesser, Mrs. Welthy Fisher, Profs. Donald Tewksbury, Ernest Osborne, S. R. Berenberg, M.D., participating.

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Listings in this section are available at 40c a line (five words); minimum charge $2 per insertion. Copy deadline Friday before publication. Please send payment with copy. Address: Calendar, National Guardian, 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y.

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PISARRO: Street at Rouen.

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Item	Description & Colors	Size in Inches	Reg. Value	Guardian Price
FROM RUSSIA:				
1	White with blue border	60x60	$ 6.50	$ 4.50
2a	White with colored border*	56x68	7.50	4.90
2b	White with colored border*	56x83	8.50	5.50
2c	White with colored border*	54x54	5.50	3.50
3	White flowers on white	56x68	7.50	4.90
	IN FLORAL COLORS:			
4a	Gold, purple, beige or blue	56x56	7.50	5.00
4b	Gold, green, brown or blue	56x68	9.50	6.00
4c	Rose, purple, pink, blue or gold	69x83	13.50	9.00
4d	Brown, gold purple or blue	56x83	12.50	8.00
	White with Blue Border			
5a	(with 6 napkins)	60x60	11.50	6.50
5b	(with 8 napkins)	60x83	17.50	10.50
5c	White on white with 6 napkins	69x83	20.00	15.00
	*Colored borders in lovely shades of rose, pink, gold, blue, purple. (In specifying colors or colored border, give 2 or 3 preferences)			
FROM CZECHOSLOVAKIA:				
6	Pure linen double damask Hemstiched, 8 matching hemstitched napkins, Cream color.	56x84	20.00	14.50
7	Pure linen, Open work design, 8 matching napkins, Blue, gold, green	58x78	20.00	13.00
7a	Pure linen, Open work design, 8 matching napkins, Blue, gold, green	58x78	20.00	13.00
8	Pure linen, White double damask Hemstitched, 12 matching napkins, Floral design	60x100	23.00	18.00
9	Pure linen, Open work design, 12 matching napkins, Gold, blue	64x104	23.00	18.00
9a	Pure linen damask, Floral design, 12 extra large napkins, Blue, green, white	64x104	30.00	20.00
FROM BELGIUM:				
10	Rayon damask, Floral design, 8 matching napkins, Grey, cream, blue, green	64x84	18.00	14.00
FROM IRELAND:				
11	Pure linen white damask, 8 matching napkins	66x84	25.00	19.50
PILLOWCASES:				
12	Before hemming, Pure Irish linen, Threads drawn by hand	43x38	5.50 a pair	
13	Domestic percale, No starch, Thread drawn hems	42x36	9.20 a doz.	
TOWELS:				
14	Pure linen Kitchen Towel	18x34	7.50 per doz. plus postage	
14a	Pure linen Kitchen Towel	16x32	6.75 per doz. plus postage	
14b	Face Towels, Pure linen, Floral design	20x36	9.50 per doz. plus postage	

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In the European heartland: two books

The Germans — 1918 to 1945, and after

By James Aronson

IF YOU ARE confused and disgusted by the press mumbo-jumbo about the German Problem, the "moral" debates on rearming and re-nazification, here are two books about Germany which—read in sequence—will help you cut through to the heart of the matter.

In Anna Seghers' new novel, written with the skill of an artist, an anti-fascist German whose hope for Germany cannot die tells the story of her people from 1918 to 1945. Arthur Kahn, a young American writer without polish but with the strength of deep feeling, picks up after 1945 in a factual book about the U.S. occupation.

THE PEOPLE: The form of the Seghers novel is heroic, but her characters do not take on "heroic" dimensions. They are people—German people, believable to the core, but mostly not lovable. There are:

The Army aristocracy — men and women and children; stiff, too proud for plunder, filled with a distorted sense of honor and love of Fatherland.

The land barons—degenerate, cynical, without feeling, willing to make deals with the worst Nazi elements—but give the hands a good washing with scented soap later, of course.

The professional Nazis—cruel, contemptible, rigid with a zeal born partly of insanity, partly of acquisitiveness.

The farmers—rich and poor, church- and caste-ridden, some living fatly off rolling acres, some grubbing potatoes from wasted land.

The workers—the most politically conscious: exploited, aware of the need for solidarity against the exploiter, yet unable to achieve it; struggling, plodding through drab lives, yet knowing there is something better to be had, never willing to give up the dream.

GESCHKE'S PROGRESS: The tragedy of the German working class is caught in the gray figure of the worker Geschke, who finally came to understand. He came to understand many things; for example what Triebel, the Communist, said about the funeral of Rosa Luxembourg, whose murdered body had been fished out of the canal:

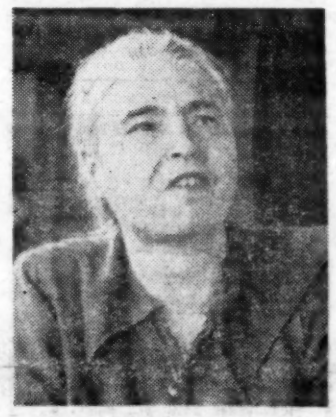
> A lot of people, said Triebel, stood on the curbstone then and spat because they were secretly ashamed at not joining the procession, for between cowardice that kept them from joining the funeral procession and spitting on those who did follow it there is less difference than one thinks. The man who is afraid to declare himself openly is always looking for a reason to despise those who have the courage of their convictions.

It became clear when he heard his son, home from the horrors of the Eastern Front, tell a meeting of the underground:

> "Why has all this happened to us? What are we guilty of? We have always wanted to have someone to obey, not because he knew more than we do but because he had power. Power has always been our god, power that others wield over us and power we have tried to wield over others. We were proud, and still are here in this room, because we are better than the majority; because we understand everything better, because we don't let ourselves be fooled. But we have not been able to change the others. And the result is that power remains power and our little band stands alone."

The moral of the work? Power will remain power until this lesson is learned:

> No matter how much in the past they had fought and quarreled, hated one another . . . they could fight about the future again and quarrel about what ought to become of their country after they had driven out the gang now in power.



ANNA SEGHERS
Hope never dies

WHAT HAPPENED to the Geschkes who survived the bombings, the others who came with skeletal bodies and burning eyes out of the concentration camps? Nothing very good, says Arthur Kahn, and he documents it with fact that cannot be denied.

Kahn was a GI who marched with the victorious Army of the U.S.A. into a crushed Reich. He stayed to become a post-war Intelligence officer. He tells of the deep feeling that the American "footsloggers" had—some with knowledge, some with instinct—that this kind of thing must not happen again.

Then, as brave little bands of constitutional Americans offered a hand, a home, a press to the Geschkes, along came Military Government and the carpet-baggers with know-how—men who knew how to build sewers in Oshkosh and applied the same formulae to "reconstruction" of the German mind.

SAME BOOTS, NEW FEET: Here is the whole sad chapter of the Geschkes being trampled again, of the Army aristocracy and the Nazi professionals rising again to plague a beautiful and a benighted land. Only this time it was not the SS but the U.S. that wore the jackboots. And the institutional church, solemn and severe, gave its blessing as it gave it to Hitler.

Almost sadder is the story of what happened to decent but unknowing Americans in Germany. There was corruption almost without parallel; black market and drunken sadism, sexual license and mental decay. Not pretty to look at, but important to know. When he sat down to write, says Kahn:

> Not until then did I realize that what had seemed to me and my friends in Germany to be a chaos of corruption and incompetence had actually been a planned development following a very definite pattern. In fact, it has become increasingly clear that the pattern of events in Germany from 1944 to mid-1947 mirrored in sharp perspective what was happening at home in America.

The parallel was so sharp that Kahn could not find a publisher in the U.S. who would print this book. **Betrayal** was printed in English "behind the Iron Curtain" in Poland and shipped here in place of dollar royalties for the Polish translation.

THE DEAD STAY YOUNG by Anna Seghers. Little, Brown & Co. Boston. $4.

BETRAYAL, OUR OCCUPATION OF GERMANY by Arthur D. Kahn. 106 First Av., N.Y.C. 3. $1.25.

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